Equal Rights

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The Inter American Commission at Work

Much of the work of the Inter American Commission of Women at Montevideo was done in this office. It is located in the famous Palacio Legislativo in the Uruguayan capital, where the Seventh Pan American Conference held its sessions.

Those present when the picture was taken, December 1, 1933, were, reading from left to right: Dr. Alice Armand Ugon of Uruguay; Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza, technical adviser to the Mexican Delegation to the Seventh Conference, and Commissioner from Mexico; Srta. Leonor Artegaveytia of Uruguay; Srta. Clara Elisa de Salterain of Uruguay; Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, Executive Secretary of the Inter American Commission; and Srta. Mireya Varela of Uruguay, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

with my husband to Bulgaria but found that because of ignorance of the language I could not practice successfully there. As the possibilities of earning a living were miserable for my husband and myself in Bulgaria, I returned again to my own country to continue working as a dentist there, but I was not allowed to practice my profession in my own country owing to my foreign nationality.'

"Another woman writes: 'I have lost my nationality and am stateless because of my marriage to a foreigner. My husband has no nationality as he is a Russian refugee. My husband is unable to earn very much under the present circumstances and I, being stateless, have been unable to get a permit to earn my living in my native city. My husband has gone to another country in the hope of earning a living there, but I have had great difficulty in getting a passport to join him because I am stateless. I am forced at present, as a result of this situation, to remain in my native city and be dependent upon relatives.'

"Yet another woman writes: 'After graduating from a technical school I was sent on a scholarship by the Ministry for Construction of my country to finish my studies as an architect. After my return from abroad, where I finished my studies as an architect, I married a foreigner. I went with my husband to his country, but returned shortly afterwards to my own country and resumed my work as an architect for the ministry. This time, however, I was classed as a foreigner and my rank and advancement were less than if I had been a citizen. It was not until my husband became naturalized in my country and I was thereby made a citizen again that I could regain my old rank and right to advancement.'

"The chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the American Women's Clubs in Europe, writes: 'We are inquiring as to the possibility of so harmonizing with the purposes and methods of procedure of your organization that we may work along with you. As our members, living abroad, are naturally affected by the "stateless" or "dual nationality" conditions, our interest is particularly concentrated on this situation.'

"A frequent difficulty that arises from an enforced change of nationality because of marriage is with regard to property rights. For example, one woman writes: 'I married a man of another nationality and after some years learned that since I now have his nationality I am subject to the law of his country and that therefore my marriage is based on community property, since at marriage no contract was made. I have two children whom I have had to support alone for four years because my husband has deserted us and given nothing toward the support of the children. I am living in my native country and have inherited some property from a relative. My husband now returns and threatens to put his considerable debts against my property. I tremble lest my children be deprived of their future security and be put in distress by this action of my husband. If I could regain my own nationality, my property and therefore my children's future would be protected, as my property is not subject to my husband's debts by the law of my native country. Can you tell me how I can get back my nationality?'

"Equally serious are the difficulties arising through enforced separation from one's child through the mother's inability to give her nationality to her child. As an example we quote a memorandum from the Director of the League for American Citizenship. He writes: 'This case concerns an American woman now living in the United States. This woman married a native of Germany, while on an extended visit there. While there she gave birth to a child and later she, the child and her husband came to the United States to live. Neither she nor her husband gave any thought to the possible alien status of the child because the mother assumed it was American since she herself was an American-born woman. But the fact of the matter was that, since the father was a German and had not adopted United States citizenship, he was still an alien and the child was therefore considered by our government as an alien (born abroad of an alien father) the United States nativity of the child's mother to the contrary notwithstanding. In the course of time the boy, her son, was arrested for several offenses and was ordered deported as an alien. The mother was distracted. She pleaded that the boy was just as much her son as her husband's, and that it was just as logical to regard the boy's allegiance as American because of her birthright, as to consider him German because of her husband's. But the law provides that citizenship of minors descends from the male parent only and therefore ruled that the boy was, for that reason, a German like his father, and not an American, like his mother. And so the mother was left facing the cruel, impersonal fact, that her son was being taken away from her because the male carries with him certain rights which are unequal, unfair and unnecessary. The boy has been sent back to Germany, where he is a stranger to its people, its language and its customs, while his native-born mother grieves for him here. In contrast to that situation, consider the status of the child of an American father—instead of an American mother. Under precisely the same circumstances as those just detailed he would not be deported, because as the offspring of an American father, he himself would be considered an American citizen'."

On December 6, three days after the Pan American Conference had opened its sessions, the Inter American Commission announced its preliminary plans, as follows:

> The Inter American Commission of Women will hold a plenary session Friday, December 8, at the Palacio Legislativo. At this session the Commission will consider its report to the Seventh Pan American Conference on the political and civil status of women in the three Americas.
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> The Commission will have before it a proposal to recommend to the Seventh Conference for adoption a treaty granting civil and political equality to women. The Commission will also have before it a preliminary study of the laws affecting women's status in each of the American nations, prepared by the Commission's Research Committee. This work, representing many months of intensive labor, fills twenty-one large-sized reports, and upon it will be based the Commission's recommendations to the Seventh Conference.
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> At a previous plenary meeting of the Inter American Commission of Women, held in Havana, 1930, a draft convention giving complete equality to women in nationality was unanimously approved. This draft convention on nationality will now be submitted to the Seventh Conference as part of the Inter American Commission's report.
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> Since the beginning of the Seventh Conference, members of the Inter-American Commission have had a series of informal conferences with national delegations present at Montevideo. Among the Commissioners taking part in those conferences have been Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza of Mexico, Srta. Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic, Sra. Carmen Portinho Lutz of Brazil and Sra. Ana Rosa Tornero of Bolivia. Other conferences have been conducted by Srta. Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, executive secretary of the Commission.
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> Satisfactory conversations have been held with the delegations of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, United States of America, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, El Salvador and Uruguay. Members of the Inter American Commission of Women expect to have interviews with the remaining delegations within the next few days.
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> Yesterday, December 5, representatives of the Inter American Commission called upon Señor Gonzalez Campo of the Guatemalan delegation, to express their pleasure that he had been chosen chairman of the Third Commission of the Seventh Conference, to which is entrusted the question of the political and civil rights of women.
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> Doris Stevens, chairman of the Commission, yesterday was entertained at lunch at the hotel Alhambra by Srta. Isabel Anderson, alternate Commissioner of Costa Rica, and her distinguished father, Sr. Luis Anderson, together with Sr. Alessandro Alvarez of Chile and Sr. Cicero R. Peregrinho of Brazil. Sra. Alvarez, Sr. Anderson and Sr. Peregrinho are all members of the American Institute of International Law, to which Miss Stevens has been nominated for membership, being the first woman ever to receive that honor. Miss Stevens and Sra. Alvarez, Sr. Anderson and Sr. Peregrinho constitute an official committee on international law questions to advise the Seventh Pan American Conference.
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> Members or alternate members of the Inter American Commission of

Women who are now in Montevideo are: Doris Stevens, chairman; Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza of Mexico; Srta. Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic; Sra. Carmen Portinho Lutz of Brazil; Srta. Isabel Anderson of Costa Rica; and Sra. Ana Rosa Tornero of Bolivia. Sra. Marta Vergara of Chile is expected to arrive tomorrow, December 7, by airplane from Santiago. Dr. Mercedes Rodriguez of the Museo Social at Buenos Aires, alternate Commissioner of Argentina, is also expected in Montevideo shortly. Three of the Inter American Commission's representatives have come, or are expected to come, to Montevideo by airplane; Srta. Bernardino, Srta. Anderson and Sra. Vergara.

Tomorrow, December 7, Miss Stevens and Fanny Bunand-Sevastos will be guests of the French Minister to Uruguay, M. Gentil, at luncheon at the French Legation.

December 7 was a momentous day. The Third Commission of the Conference met on that day. It was this Commission that was entrusted with the question of the political and civil rights of women. The press release of that day reads:

> Doris Stevens, chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women, was received today, December 7, by Dr. Gabriel Terra, president of Uruguay, at the presidential residence.
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> Miss Stevens told President Terra of the achievements of the Commission since its creation, five years ago, by the Sixth Pan American Conference at Habana. She also expressed her great interest in the feminist movement of Uruguay, many of the leaders of which have been visitors at the headquarters of the Inter American Commission of Women at the Parque Hotel and the Legislative Palace.
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> A preliminary meeting of the Third Commission of the Seventh Conference, to which is entrusted the question of the political and civil rights of women, was held today, December 7, in Sala C, at the Palacio Legislativo.
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> Sr. Gonzalez Campo of Guatemala presided. As proof of the great interest of the delegates to the Seventh Conference in Equal Rights for women, it was noticed that more spectators were present at the Third Commission's session than have attended the sessions of any other commission.
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> At the opening of the session, the Third Commission was informed that a preliminary study of laws affecting women's civil and political status, prepared by the Inter American Commission of Women, had been submitted to each national delegation. This study is contained in twenty-one reports, one for each country represented at the Seventh Conference, and it is upon this study that the report, which the Inter American Commission of Women is to make to the Seventh Conference within a few days, will be based.
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> Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza, technical adviser and alternate for Mexico on the question of women's rights, as well as commissioner for Mexico of the Inter American Commission of Women, informed the Third Commission of the nature of this preliminary legal study.
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> Dr. Sofia A. V. de Demichelli, delegate of Uruguay, enlarged upon the immense amount of information concerning women's legal status contained in the preliminary study prepared by the Inter American Commission of Women and proposed that the Third Commission select a subcommittee to consider it. This proposal was approved and the following five countries were asked to choose representatives for the sub-committee: Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Peru and Uruguay.
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> Dr. de Demichelli also delivered a beautiful speech on the urgent need of granting greater political and civil rights to women, declaring that this was particularly important at the present time when the maintenance of peace between nations was so uncertain. The granting of the vote to women, she said, would be the strongest possible bulwark of nations against war.
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> Today, December 7, Miss Stevens and Srta. Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, the Commission's executive secretary, were guests at a lunch given by his Excellency M. Gentil, French Minister to Uruguay, at the French Legation. Among the guests were Sr. Manoya, Minister from Guatemala to Uruguay; Sra. Manoya, Sr. Cisneros of Peru, and Sr. and Sra. Carreño of Colombia. Srs. Cisneros and Carreño are delegates of their respective countries to the Seventh Conference. Also present was the Minister of Hungary to Uruguay. The liveliest interest in the work of the Inter American Commission of Women was expressed by the guests at the luncheon.

A bulletin dated December 8 gives an account of the plenary session of the Inter American Commission of Women held that day:

> The Inter American Commission of Women met in plenary session, December 8, at the Palacio Legislativo in Montevideo. A report was unanimously adopted recommending to the American nations present at the Seventh Pan American Conference the adoption of a treaty guaranteeing equal political and civil rights to women throughout the hemisphere. This report will be placed before the Seventh Conference for action within a few days.
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> "Women here perform a beautiful, poetic act," declared Miss Stevens. "They spoke out for liberty. There is not a woman anywhere who cannot hold her head higher because of what the Inter American Commission has done today. There is no one who cannot feel greater pride in her own worth as a woman."
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> It was pointed out that the plenary session of the Inter American Commission was an historic occasion:
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> 1. Because the Inter American Commission of Women, created by the Sixth Pan American Conference, is the first official body of women ever to be established by an international conference of governments.
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> 2. Because it is the first international body charged with the duty of making recommendations upon the civil and political rights of women, thus enabling women for the first time in history to have a voice, internationally, in determining their own destiny.
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> 3. And because, having been given the right to make recommendations concerning their own destiny, the members of the Inter American Commission of Women today voiced a demand for complete equality of rights with men in all departments of life, the first time such a demand has ever been made by an official body of women anywhere in the world.
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> The recommendations of the Inter-American Commission of Women are epitomized in a treaty and a convention, both of which the nations represented at the Seventh Conference will be urged to approve. The treaty reads as follows:
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> "Article 1.—The contracting states agree that upon the ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory, subject to their respective jurisdictions."
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> The convention which the Inter American Commission of Women recommend to the Seventh Conference concerns the single but immensely important subject of nationality, and reads:
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> "Article 1.—The contracting states agree that, from the going into effect of this convention, there will be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality."
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> The equal rights treaty and the equal nationality convention have both been twice approved by the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law.

Among the speakers at this session was Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, Alternate Commissioner for Haiti, who said:

> It was with the greatest gratification that I accepted the honor of representing the women of Haiti in the consideration of the questions for which our commission was created. Across the barrier of language stretches the bond of human sympathy between the women of Haiti and the women of the rest of this hemisphere over surviving injustices and inequalities.
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> What the Seventh Pan American Conference accomplishes to right these inequalities and injustices will mark a turning point in the progress of women throughout the world to that level of assured position which the modern thought of the world demands. The example we set here will be followed, not alone in this hemisphere, but in Europe, Asia, and all through the world.
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> We must see to it that the example is a worthy one. In my opinion, two great steps forward are represented by the convention on the nationality of women and the treaty on equal civil and political rights for women which we are recommending to the Conference. It is inconceivable that the delegates assembled here, representing the progressive republics of the Western world, should fail to

rise to the occasion, should fail to provide to the older world an example of what should be done to remedy the anachronistic discrepancies of outworn legal systems and customs.

Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza of Mexico addressed the session as follows:

> The movement for emancipation of women was born almost simultaneously in all America. Our historical antecendents are the same, our langauge and our psychology are similar. It is not strange, therefore, that like a great tide this desire for liberty should arise among all the women of the continent. It is not a local phenomenon of Cuba, Mexico or Uruguay; it is the whole of America which is rising up. The fact is that the younger daughters have grown up and do not want the guardianship of men, no matter how good they may be. They have learned to read in the hard books of the law, these piles of statutes which were forbidden sanctuaries to them, and they have discovered with horror that they are placed in the category of perpetual minors. Not only that, but they have found themselves to be things—to be property belonging to men, and they have rebelled against so tremendous an injustice.
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> If we come to the Seventh International Conference to search for collective action to alleviate our humiliating condition, it is just because we have learned that co-ordinated action will give us prompt emancipation. If the countries come to international conferences to ask for help to better their economic and or material conditions, we do not see why *we* should not come to look for the same cooperation in order to bring about a social advancement. We have come to ask for our rights for a single reason, because they belong to us, and because we must have them. It is a matter of principle. We would lose our faith entirely in our countries if we should not obtain our rights; and, if later on someone should tell us that they have come to these international conferences, in search of justice of whatever kind, we would laugh at them pessimistically, and we, as mothers, sisters and wives, would teach the children not to trust these great reunions.
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> We have come full of hope, full of optimism, hopeful that we may go back to our countries carrying a message of liberation. All of us who have devoted ourselves to this endeavor have careers more or less useful and brilliant and have interrupted them to enlist in the struggle, because we believe that it is more important than anything to save our personalities, and we demand to be heard, and we demand justice. We believe we shall be listened to, because this body of men has been selected from the more outstanding persons of our countries, and they will understand this horrible waste of energies now demanded of us, and will appreciate how useful we would be in all branches of life when we can participate with the full powers of our personalities.
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> We will not accept excuses, no matter how intelligent, that will be presented to us, and only when we see our equal rights treaty signed will we believe that America has begun to do justice to its women.

Another speaker at the plenary session of December 8 was Dr. Sofia A. V. de Demichelli, delegate of Uruguay to the Seventh Pan American Conference, and a member of the Seventh Conference's Third Commission. Dr. de Demichelli declared that on behalf of the women of Uruguay she wished to express her admiration for the beautiful ideals which had directed the Commission's labors. The women of the whole continent, she said, owned the most profound thanks to the Commission for the courage, imagination and unselfishness which its members displayed, and she proposed that such a vote of thanks be given by acclamation.

Sra. Carmen Portinho Lutz, member of the Inter American Commission for Brazil, said that on behalf of all the Commissioners she wished to propose a special vote of thanks to Miss Stevens of the United States of America, chairman of the Commission, for her brave and self-sacrificing leadership.

The recommendations which the Inter American Commission of Women were to make to the Seventh Conference were read and unanimously approved at this session. The recommendations, which pointed out the necessity for immediate and urgent action, were presented to the Inter American Commission's Committee on Research. A financial report, stating the contributions received by the Inter American Commission, was read by Ella Riegel of the United States of America, and was approved by acclamation with expressions of appreciation for the generosity of the individuals and organizations which have aided in making possible the Commission's work.

Srta. Ana Rosa Tornero of Bolivia was selected as Secretary of the Sessions of the Inter American Commission of Women; Srta. Panama Puig of Ecuador and Srta. Mireya Varela of Uruguay were appointed as assistant secretaries.

A Committee of Redacción was chosen, made up of Srta. Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic, Ana Rosa Tornero of Bolivia, Srta. Isabel Anderson of Costa Rica and Srta. Licia de Valle de Varela of Peru.

December 12, 1933, marked a big step forward for the proponents of Equal Rights and equal nationality:

> The sub-committee of the Third Commission today, on the motion of the delegate of Brazil, Sr. Campos, adopted the convention proposed by the Inter American Commission of Women guaranteeing Equal Rights to men and women in nationality.

The sub-committee also approved a strong recommendation urging that American republics establish, as promptly as possible, complete equality of political and civil rights between men and women.

In the same session, the sub-committee voted to extend the warm thanks of the Seventh Pan American Conference to the Inter American Commission of Women for its "unique, notable and unselfish labor" in furthering the cause of women's rights during the last five years, and especially for its survey, in twenty-one separate reports, one for each country, of the laws affecting women in the Americas. The sub-committee also recommended that the Inter American Commission of Women continue its work, and that it make further recommendations to the next, or Eighth, Pan American Conference.

Proposals made by the delegates of Uruguay and Cuba that the sub-committee approve the Equal Rights Treaty proposed by the Inter American Commission of Women, which would give complete equality to women in all departments of life, was defeated by one vote. Sra. de Demichelli of Uruguay and Sr. Giraudy of Cuba made moving appeals in behalf of the Equal Rights Treaty.

Following the session of the sub-committee, Sr. Campos was enthusiastically congratulated by the Commissioners of the Inter American Commission, and by its chairman, Doris Stevens, for his initiative in proposing the action taken today. It was stated that on Monday evening, December 11, a conference had been held by Sr. Mello Franco, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Campos, and Miss Stevens. At this meeting, the first to be held between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and Miss Stevens, the support of Brazil for the nationality convention proposed by the Inter American Commission of Women, was promised, and Sr. Campos suggested that, on behalf of Brazil, he proposed to the sub-committee of the Third Commission, the resolution which was adopted today.

After the meeting of the sub-committee, it was pointed out by Miss Stevens that this is the first time that a committee of an international conference of the governments has adopted a convention dealing exclusively with the principle of Equal Rights for women. For this reason, the nationality convention approved today has become an historic diplomatic instrument. The approval of this convention, Miss Stevens said, has stamped the Seventh Pan American Conference as the most socially-conscious, forward-looking international gathering which has yet been held.

Miss Stevens, likewise, called attention to the fact that the recommendation adopted by the sub-committee, advising all the American Republics to end as soon as possible discriminations in their laws against women, contained no qualifications of any kind. It advised complete equality for women in every department of

life, in political rights, in property rights, in rights of guardianship over children and all rights of whatever nature pertaining to men and women. This recommendation made it impossible to doubt longer the way which the American Republics intend to follow. It defined the goal of legislation affecting women in the Americas in clear and unmistakable terms which will admit, in the future, of no quibbling.

Miss Stevens recalled that she had in the past attended many international gatherings in Europe and North America. In none of them, she said, not even at the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928, had she encountered so great a friendliness towards the just demands of women, and so keen an appreciation of the great benefits to society to be gained by extending full liberty to women.

However, Miss Stevens expressed her great regret that the treaty proposed by the Inter American Commission of Women, establishing complete political and civil equality for women, had not been approved by the Third Commission's sub-committee. The approval of this treaty would have made the recommendation of the sub-committee a reality instead of leaving it a hope for the future. In failing to approve this treaty for complete Equal Rights, the sub-committee lost an opportunity to do immediate justice to women. The approval of this treaty would have been the most beautiful and distinguished act ever made by an international conference. It was a pity it was not seized.

December 16 was the date of the great triumph — the day on which the Pan American Conference voted to submit to its members the Equal Nationality Treaty. The speeches made by those whose inspired eloquence broke down the last barriers to equality in nationality for the men and women of the Americas were as follows:

Clara Elisa de Salterain:

I wish to express in the name of the Uruguayan women the hope which they have, that Montevideo will be the scene of one of the greatest historical moments of this modern epoch.

It was their desire that the American republics should sign in Montevideo the Treaty on Equal Rights for Women, thus sealing in our dear Republic one of the basic principles of human liberty.

Statesmen, representatives of your respective countries who have refused to sign the noble treaty on the emancipation of woman, when returning to your countries and thinking over the negative vote which you have given, remember what profound and just truths you have heard and be the first advocates of woman's cause, so that the Eighth Conference will approve that which today you have considered premature, and so make America's liberty a supreme reality.

Mrs. Dania Padilla, representative of Cuban women to the Inter American Commission of Women:

It is the greatest satisfaction and honor for me to let it be known at this American Assembly and through it to the whole world that the Cuban women, who knew how to fight together with men for the conquest of all the rights, have, with the triumph of the revolution, seen their emancipation realized.

Today we take part with the men of our country in the right to live as civilized human beings, in the duty of working to make it great, prosperous, happy, and finally supreme.

Senorita Minerva Bernardino, delegate of the Dominican Republic:

Gentlemen of the Conference:

Named by the "Acción Feminista Dominicana" as their delegate to the Inter American Commission of Women, whose five-year labor has been so favorably commented on, I visit for the first time the land of Artigas, as heroic in its glorious battles for independence as in those great battles for intellectual development and the success of all the living fountains of work.

Model republic for the quality of its representative values in the multiple activities of life, for its exemplary institutions and for its history full of worthy teachings, I could not help but wish to know it, and I never dreamt that destiny would so soon realize my wish and less still that I should come with the honorable mission of representing the women who in my country not only desire the triumph of universal fraternity, but also a greater action for woman in life. And it is you, the delegates, who are factors of chief strength in the high and noble effort of acquiring our right to be called citizens.

We, the women, conscious of our responsibilities, require the representation of the role which is ours, not only in the arduous tasks of saving the world from the shame of a new universal conflagration, but also that of acting like our brother man in all the spheres of life.

Moved by interests conflicting with ethics of rights and the moral functions of justice, the nations seem threatened by a new war of fatal proportions, more intense than the last whose painful consequences we face. Nothing claims the agitated conscience of the world with a deeper human interest than the participation of women citizens, than the participation of women invested with all their rights in order to help men to choose practical methods to avoid the bankruptcy of love and the failure of ideals of harmony between all the peoples.

Gentlemen of the Conference, a new era is necessary for the woman of the continent, for the woman who has known how to carry out so great a work in life, for the woman who is the one who creates the citizens of tomorrow, for the woman who many times establishes a home in spite of misery and pain, and for the one who sacrifices everything for the cause of justifying her rights.

It is just, gentlemen, that special mention be made of His Excellency, the President of the Dominican Republic, who is one of my country's most loyal defenders, and who has promised to give us shortly the rights of citizenship.

Gentlemen of the Conference, the voice of my companions, the Dominican Feminists, accompanied me across the seas and skies to unite itself with that of my sisters of all the continents and to acclaim the majesty of their rights, identifying ourselves in one sole thought to hear the verdict that must impart our definite civil and political condition, and which must, in consequence, make more luminous the program of this conference in this great city, cradle of José Enrique Rodó and of Juana de Ibarburou, and that of so many heroic deeds. And bear in mind that we, the women, who know more than man because Nature destined us to be mothers, know how much the blood of the children costs, how much it weighs in the scale of love. We are the ones who can bring most collaboration and sincerity to the great cause of mending the world to save it from political impotence, thus assuring its dignity before history and before God. For that reason, gentlemen of the Conference, give way to woman.

Doris Stevens of the United States:

Members of the Seventh Conference:

As the hour is growing very late, we shall close our part of the order of the day by thanking you for your courtesy and generosity. Before we part I want, on behalf of the Inter American Commission of Women, to express our deep thanks to you for having approved the nationality treaty and the continuation of the Commission. We regret that you did not go all the way with us and approve the complete Equal Rights treaty. However, we hope your recommendation which embodies the same principle set forth in the treaty will be acted upon favorably and speedily.

We have co-operated with you in a great and historic act. Those who come after us will understand perhaps better than we do here today the great importance of the acceptance of the first treaty in the history of the world extending equality to women.

It is not accidental that it has happened in the New World. What The Hague Codification Conference rejected in 1930 and what the League of Nations refused to remedy has been done by you.

We have worked very hard. We are very tired. For months before we came, days and nights were spent in the study of the laws of the Americas. Since coming here the work has been equally laborious. We have been so few. You are so many compared to us.

This morning you heard a delegate of the United States of America say that the women of his country wanted to work to remove existing inequalities State by State within the United States. I should like to read from a cable which came during lunch today, which shows that great organizations

of women in the United States want to work internationally through the Pan American Conferences to extend and safeguard their rights. I will read the names of those organizations which have urged President Roosevelt to support the nationality treaty.

The National Council of Women, Lena Madesin Phillips, president (this is the national body of the oldest women's organization in the world); the National Women Lawyers' Association, Olive Stott Gabriel, president; the National Zonta (an organization of business and professional women); the National Women's Real Estate Association, National League for Equal Opportunities, the District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs, Anna Kelton Wiley, president; the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality, advisory committee to the League of Nations, of which committee the Inter American Commission of Women is a constituent member.

So you see that a considerable number of women in powerful organizations in the United States do want to act internationally with other women.

You heard a delegate of the United States say also, this morning, with just pride, that the United States had women in the House of Representatives. We have. God is on our side. Also during lunch I received another cable, from which I read: "All the women members of Congress in Washington have urged President Roosevelt to act favorably on the Nationality Treaty."

This cable further says that many of the men members of Congress have urged the same thing.

The Inter American Commission of Women will go on, and together the women of the whole continent will continue to express their will concerning their own destiny. What we are doing, is, we believe, beautiful, creative and permanent. We are building a world in which men and women can live together with greater dignity and understanding and with deeper, more all-embracing love.

The United States, as our readers know, refrained from voting for adoption of the Equal Nationality Treaty, but later signed it. Spokesman for this Government at the memorable session of Decemver 16 was Alexander W. Weddell, United States Ambassador to Argentina, who said:

Mr. Chairman:

Much water has passed under the bridge since 1928 when the Inter American Commission of Women was created. Since that time the growing influence of women in the higher affairs of the Government of the United States has been marked and at this moment there is a woman member of the Cabinet, the Honorable Frances Perkins; a woman Senator, several women deputies and three women chiefs of bureaus, these functionaries being the most distinguished members of the present administration. The Cabinet member referred to is the Secretary of Labor, a department in which the field of human relations is most fully explored for the ultimate happiness of the individual and the nation. Under this department are those important branches of humane activity: the Woman's Bureau, the Children's Bureau and the Division of Immigration and Naturalization, the first two headed by women and the influences of women being felt in positive measure in all three.

This is no mere accident. Their appointment is a recognition by the Roosevelt Administration with its new ideals and its new conceptions of the functions of government; is a recognition of those great major groups representing the womanhood of America, whose efficacious interest and influence in government are being felt in growing measure each day. I do not doubt that in other countries of the Western Hemisphere similar manifestations of the beneficent influence of women in government are to be seen.

But the recognition of the role of woman as a citizen is an old story with us, for it is over sixty years since the State from which one of the delegates from the United States comes, gave full suffrage to women and since 1920 women have had the right to vote throughout the United States.

In the report to be submitted by the Inter American Commission of Women will appear three projects, which are referred to in the subcommittee's report now under consideration:

1. A treaty on the nationality of women;
2. A recommendation concerning equal rights;
3. The matter of the continuation of the Inter American Commission of Women.

In the matter of the proposed nationality treaty, a special interdepartmental committee of my Government is so codifying the laws as to remove the last vestiges of discrimination.

In the matter of equal rights, it is the belief of the great majority of women as well as of men in the United States that these survivals of an earlier law, now known to be wholly unsuited to modern conditions in the home, in employment, or in social intercourse, can generally be dealt with by the State than by the Federal Government and treated, question by question, so that the remedy being suited to the evil may be both more appropriate and adequate.

Fully to readjust to modern needs relationships that are "out of joint," as one may say, is a highly responsible undertaking to be accomplished with reference to other occasions for change as well as that of relative inequality. For these reasons the wellnigh unanimous view of organized women in the United States agrees with the attitude of my Government as indicated.

I have spoken at this length because the delegation from the United States is sincerely desirous that the attitude of their Government and the situation existing in the United States shall not be misunderstood.

With a sense of deep gratitude to the Inter American Commission of Women for their report, I remain under the necessity of informing this Commission that my Government desires to dissociate itself in the future from the work of the Inter American Commission of Women and intends to continue its studies in this field through branches of the government charged with responsibility in these matters. For this reason our delegation will refrain from voting on the other phases of the report of the Sub-Commission.

News from the Field

Congressional Work in Michigan

WITH nationality foremost in women's minds, groups all over the country are springing into insistent action. One such able effort occurred in Detroit, Friday, December 15, when a delegation called on Representative Carl Weideman. This deputation was held before news came from the Pan American Conference of the adoption of the Equal Nationality Treaty.

Mr. Weideman has been one of the staunchest supporters of Equal Rights and gave active help last session on our Nationality Bill. He received the delegation most graciously and assured them he would do whatever he could to help with the Equal Rights Nationality Bill when Congress reconvenes.

The members of the delegation included: Rilla A. Nelson, Phoebe Munnecke, Lucia Grimes and Lotta Broadbridge, for the National Woman's Party; Emma A. Fox, for the Parliamentary Law Club and as honorary president of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Malcolm McKinnon and Mrs. Siefert, for the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. W. R. Alvord, for the International Institute; Jessie Miller and Julia Van Arsdell, for the Women's International League for Peace; Miss McGarva, for the State Association of Nurses; Miss Gladys Catherwood, legislative chairman for the State Business and Professional Women; Mary Brumfield, former president, and Philomene Altman, for the Business and Professional Women; Mrs. McKibben, for the Postoffice Workers; Mrs. Heavenrich and Hazel Moran.

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The Inter American Commission at Work

Much of the work of the Inter American Commission of Women at Montevideo was done in this office. It is located in the famous Palacio Legislativo in the Uruguayan capital, where the Seventh Pan American Conference held its sessions.

Those present when the picture was taken, December 1, 1933, were, reading from left to right: Dr. Alice Armand Ugon of Uruguay; Sra. Margarita Robles de Mendoza, technical adviser to the Mexican Delegation to the Seventh Conference, and Commissioner from Mexico; Srta. Leonor Artegaveytia of Uruguay; Srta. Clara Elisa de Salterain of Uruguay; Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, Executive Secretary of the Inter American Commission; and Srta. Mireya Varela of Uruguay, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

Equal Rights

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 1]
[House Joint Resolution Number 1]

Introduced in the Senate March 10, 1933, by SENATOR JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Delaware.

Introduced in the House March 9, 1933, by REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS LUDLOW, Indiana.

How Long?

THE more we consider what happened at Montevideo, the more incomprehensible it seems that there should be any opposition at all to the placing of women on an equal status with men. And the speech of Alexander W. Weddell, United States Ambassador to Argentina, only serves to deepen the mystery.

When the United States decided to place the negro man on an equal status with the white man, it was not considered necessary that the step should be taken State by State.

When it was decided to tax the incomes of residents of Virginia, California, Maine, Louisiana and of the forty-four other States of the Union, it was the Federal Government that took the initiative.

When it was decided to withdraw from the people of the United States the right to decide for themselves, as individuals, whether or not to indulge in alcoholic beverages—a matter so bitterly contested that the Prohibition Amendment is the first and only Amendment to the Constitution ever to have been repealed—it was not considered necessary that the change be effected through the enactments of State legislatures.

If the negro man could be given full adult rights through amendment to the Federal Constitution, and if the Constitution could be amended to permit the Federal Government to tax incomes and to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor, how can anyone contend that the States alone should be able to determine the quality of an American woman's citizenship?

Mr. President, how long must women submit to the tyranny, shame and ignominy of legal inferiority?

Don't Wish—Come!

THERE were cogent reasons that kept many members of the National Woman's Party from going to Montevideo. The length of the voyage, the time, the expense—all were considerable. Yet they were infinitesimally small compared to the great reward that came to the adventurous little band of women who traveled from the far reaches of the Western hemisphere to urge their rights as humans.

Not that we do not appreciate the work of those other noble women whose efforts at home, blow for blow, reinforced those of the vanguard in South America. It was because the members of the Inter American Commission were able to prove that millions of their sisters in all the American Republics stood behind them, that they were given the opportunity to present their pleas.

But the Woman's Party needs the help, the co-operation, the talents, the gifts of all of its members—now more than ever, so that the work begun at Montevideo can go forward rapidly until Equal Rights "in all human relationships" will become the law and practice of this hemisphere. Since comparatively few were able to go to Montevideo, it is hoped that many more, because of the inspiration that has come from the great South American Conference, will be on hand this morning when the Middle Atlantic Regional Conference of the Woman's Party is called to order in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Sarah T. Colvin of Minnesota will open the Conference and Florence Bayard Hilles, who preceded her as National Chairman, will preside at the opening session. Harrisburg will be a turning point as well as Montevideo, but in a different way. Mrs. Colvin, while conscious of the progress made by the outposts of the Party, wants to add strength to the ranks of those who work and fight at home. Our enthusiastic new Chairman from the Middle West visualizes a membership of 200,000. She feels that this end can be best attained by dividing the far-flung membership into Regional groups, each group to be strongly organized, composed of interlocking and co-ordinating State groups. These State groups, on the one hand, are to reach out as widely as possible into their own territory, forming local, city and county branches. On the other hand, as Regional groups grow in strength and influence, the Party as a whole will be able to mass additional tens and hundreds of thousands of votes behind its every plea for justice.

Those who are not in Harrisburg today, January 13, should do what they can to attend tomorrow. There is yet time to take part in this important meeting. We all wish we could have been present in Montevideo. It is better to go to Harrisburg than wish you had.

Conflict and Victory

By James Brown Scott,
President of the American Institute of International Law, President of the American Society of International Law, Former President of the Institut de Droit International

ALL is quiet along the River Plata. The Inter American Commission of Women has given battle at Montevideo; the fight is over and the Commission remains in possession of the field. Also, all is quiet along the Potomac, save for jubilation here and there in Washington because of the victory at Montevideo. What was the battle? What the victory?

The Inter American Commission of Women, under its Chairman, Doris Stevens, confronted the delegations of twenty American Republics in Conference assembled in Montevideo. The conflict raged over a draft of treaty proposed by her in behalf of the Commission, as its adoption by the Republics of the Western world would abolish inequality in their law and practice in the matter of nationality; over a draft of treaty, also proposed by her, by which the American Republics would accord to men and women within their respective jurisdictions equal civil and political rights; and a resolution, not introduced by Miss Stevens nor by the Inter American Commission, that it should be continued, as in the past, to report at the Eighth Conference to be held at Santiago de Chile some five years hence, in the interval to serve as an advisory body to the Pan American Union in matters relating to the inequality of men and women in their civil and political relationships.

What was the victory? The adoption by the Conference of the Nationality Treaty without a negative vote on the part of any Republic; the adoption by four American republics: Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador and Cuba, of the Equality Treaty in civil and political relationships of men and women; the adoption, without a negative, of the recommendation to the American Republics to consider how inequalities in the civil and political relationships of men and women could be abrogated, and equality in all human relationships between men and women become their law and practice; and the continuance of the Inter American Commission in order that it should carry on its investigations on the relationships between men and women, and serve as an advisory body to the Americas.

THE Seventh of the Conferences of American States in Montevideo has already its place in history; it will ever be looked upon as the outstanding Conference of the Americas, because of the victory of the Inter American Commission of Women. It marks the beginning of equality, and the beginning of the end of inequality in human relationships of men and women in international and in national law. The impossible has been done; the Inter American Commission of Women has shown how it can be done, and our civilization—which is, we may say, the realization of the impossible—is freed from the shackles of precedent which have hitherto impeded its onward and upward march.

Only a single casualty is reported: that of the delegation of the United States, which had to be coerced into signing the Nationality Treaty, obstinately refusing, however, to vote for the continuation of the Inter American Commission of Women; the recommendation to the Republics to equalize their laws in the matter of men and women; and the formal treaty to that effect, which four of the American Republics were enlightened enough to sign.

* * *

THE contest in our country for Equal Rights has been a long one. Not as long as the Hundred Years' War between Great Britain and France, yet longer than the Thirty Years' War which Europe faced because of differences of opinion on religious matters. The conflict in which the women are engaged has been long enough; indeed, too long; but the way to the end is evident. It is either through internal statutes amending the constitutions or fundamental laws of all of the nations — a slow, painful and isolated process — or, better, through a single treaty for the Americas, or a single treaty of all the nations in conference at The Hague or Geneva, by which they replace their unequal laws with a line or two of a world-wide treaty to that effect.

The war, however, in our part of the world, is a war of words and not of arms. The slavery question had called attention to inequalities in this land of freedom, and many women interested in bringing about the freedom of the slaves, were made aware of the differences in the treatment accorded to them and to their so-called better halves. The result was that, as far back as 1848, a meeting of women believing that equality was synonymous with right, was held at Seneca Falls in the State of New York, and there the movement for Equal Rights was born. In a manifesto prepared by Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the movement began. Its outstanding leader of the later, but early days, was Susan B. Anthony, also a Quakeress, a name greatly revered by those who believe that equality and right are synonymous. In the meantime, before her death in 1906, much progress had been made. Suffrage was first achieved in the Territory of Wyoming in 1869, and later in various of the Western States. Pioneers are prone to equality, and the West was the home of the pioneer.

A TIME came, however, when further advance seemed uncertain, if not impossible, along lines of persuasion and protest. Agitation within the law seemed unavailing. Then it was that a radical group, bent upon aggressive action, forged ahead under the leadership of Alice Paul. They appealed to the public in various ways, and their protest to the President of the United States took the form of picketing the White House. Women stationed on Pennsylvania Avenue and in front of the White House with banners raised on behalf of suffrage, deaf to the admonition of the police to move along, were helped to move along; they were arrested; they were jailed for freedom, chief among them Miss Paul, a Quakeress, and Miss Stevens, the author of "Jailed for Freedom"—a classic in history as well as literature—later to lead to victory the movement at Montevideo. Mr. Wilson, for it was he who was President of the United States at the time, was informed that picketing was a violation of the law, and the leading members taken in the act were arrested. Miss Paul, many times sentenced, was actually confined in the District Jail of Washington, in which city one day a statue will stand in her honor. Her sanity was questioned—so reactionaries are wont to treat the benefactors of mankind in advance of their times. Miss Paul had urged the Amendment to the Constitution according women the Equal Right of suffrage with men. The President of the United States accepted the Amendment and supported it with his entire strength, and on August 18, 1920, when Tennessee ratified, the Amendment was adopted, and equality of women with men was acclaimed as the supreme law of the land, notwithstanding any law of any State to the contrary, because it was the law of the Constitution. The first great continental step had been taken toward equality. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a penny's worth of damage done to property!

In the Sixties, the agitation for suffrage began in England under the leadership of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, with the approval and support of such men as John Stuart Mill and Henry Fawcett. Progress was made; from time to time, various members of Parliament voted in behalf of woman suffrage. However, the moderate element failed of the goal, which

Mrs. Pankhurst and the radicals reached by a resort to more than mere persuasion and protest: actual destruction of property. In the end, Parliament passed woman suffrage for women of thirty years of age, and later reduced it to the age of twenty-one, thus placing woman's and man's suffrage on equal footing.

AN Amendment providing for the Equal Rights of men and women in all their human relations is before the Congress of the United States. It is not yet voted out, but the repercussion from Montevideo will doubtless tend to incline the legislators to vote it out. The writing on the wall in any part of the continent can, apparently, be read from the others. In the United States, the advantage of an Amendment to the Constitution is clear. It becomes the law of the land; that is to say, the law of everyone of the forty-eight States, the moment it is ratified and proclaimed as an amendment to the Constitution. The process of securing legislation in the individual States is long and difficult, and success is unlikely in the lifetime of those in charge of the movement. The act of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, by which the text of an Amendment for Equal Rights is submitted to all the States is, as it were, a single act, just the same as the adoption of Equal Rights by treaty. The treaty with all the nations of the world, when ratified, becomes the law of the nations so ratifying, and where it is not self-executing, imposes upon the country so ratifying the duty to pass the legislation necessary to render it effective. This does not mean, however, that the Amendment to the Constitution, providing for Equal Rights for men and women in all their human relationships, should not be pressed while awaiting an international agreement. The acceptance of the Amendment would not only establish equality throughout the length and breadth of these United States but, in addition, would be an immense incentive to other countries to pass such legislation without waiting for an international agreement. At the same time, and in like manner, a treaty negotiated with all countries, including those which have passed such legislation, would be highly desirable, in that it establishes equality throughout all the territories of the contracting and ratifying parties. Each is good; both are better.

IN 1923, at the Fifth Conference of the American Republics at Santiago de Chile, a motion was introduced by Maximo Soto Hall, delegate from Guatemala, in behalf of equal political and civil rights in the American republics. He secured the passage of a resolution recommending to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to "include in the program of future Conferences, the study of the means of abolishing the constitutional and legal incapacities of women," to secure "the same civil and political rights for women that are today enjoyed by men"; recommending also to the Governments of the Continent "the revision of their civil legislation" depriving the women of equality of rights because of sex; recommending further that "each of the American Republics prepare a memoir on the position of women as determined by their constitutions and laws" to be transmitted to the Governments of the Republics and to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union "to serve as a basis for investigation"; and recommending finally "that women" be appointed by the respective Governments as members of their delegations in order that "they may be able to participate in the work of future Conferences." However, little or no attention seems to have been paid to this important resolution. No reports were prepared for presentation to the Governments of the American Republics, and although the subject was included in the program of the Sixth Conference which met at Habana in 1928, no disposition was made for the discussion of the question. However, the National Woman's Party, which had secured the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, according suffrage to women upon a footing of equality with their fellow countrymen, sent a delegation of four to Habana in order to plead the cause of women before the Conference. Jane Norman Smith was Chairman of the National Woman's Party and attended in person; Doris Stevens was Chairman of its Committee on International Relations. A third member was Muna Lee, of Puerto Rico. The fourth member was Mrs. Valentine Winters, member of the National Council of the Woman's Party. Then Miss Stevens sought and obtained a plenary session of the Conference in the afternoon of the 7th of February, 1928, at which time, supported by Mrs. Smith, Muna Lee and women from other American republics, she made an impressive and, from a legal standpoint, unanswerable argument in favor of a treaty according to the women of all of the contracting parties equal civil and political rights with those enjoyed by us men, the unduly favored half of the human race. She argued the constitutionality of such a treaty, if concluded by the Government of the United States, in incontrovertible terms, stating impressively and truly that no treaty of the United States, from the first of our treaties of Amity, Commerce and Alliance with France of February 6, 1778, had ever been declared unconstitutional, insisting that the aim and purpose of treaties was to remove inequalities from the territories of all the contracting parties, and vesting them with Equal Rights in all their territories. The addresses made such a marked impression, that a resolution was adopted on February 18, 1928, providing for an Inter American Commission of Women to "take charge of the preparation of juridical information and data of any other kind which may be deemed advisable to enable the Seventh International Conference of American States to take up the consideration of the civil and political equality of women in the continent." A woman was to be appointed for each of the American Republics, the first seven to be chosen by the Pan American Union, and the remaining women of the Commission were to be selected by the Commission itself, so that the Commission, as constituted, would contain a representative woman from each of the twenty-one Republics.

So matters stood, in so far as women of the Americas are concerned, at the adjournment of the Sixth Pan American Conference. What has happened in the world at large and in the Americas during the interval between the Sixth of the Conferences at Habana on February 18, 1928, and the meeting of the Seventh Conference at Montevideo on December 3, 1933?

IN the month of October of 1929, the Institut de Droit International, founded in 1873 and composed of one hundred and twenty members, of whom no more than 10 per cent. could be from any one country, visited the United States. The members so chosen were supposed to be authorities on international law, and what we of the English-speaking world call the conflict of laws. The members are independent of governments and the Institut, without a fixed residence, meets from time to time in various countries. They had not hitherto visited the United States of America. They were invited to do so, and they boarded the good ship *George Washington* at Bremen, at Cherbourg and at Southampton. They were met at Hoboken by a vessel of the coast service of the United States, and taken to Briarcliff on the Hudson, and then driven in carriages to Briarcliff Manor, arriving there on the 9th and adjourning on the 18th day of October, with many and excellent projects to their credit, the one material to the present purpose being the Declaration of the International Rights of Man, the first three articles of which were adopted unanimously on the 11th of October, and the subsequent articles, the last three, on the 12th, by a large majority, and the resolution as a whole, by forty-five against one, with twelve abstentions. After visiting New York City, Princeton University, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, where they were graciously received by President and Mrs. Hoover, the European members returned appropriately upon the good ship *America*.

Elihu Root, a member of the Insti-

tute of International Law, and without doubt one of the ablest and most distinguished statesmen whom the western world has ever had, has said on more than one occasion that the projects of the Institute of International Law have made the fortune of the various international conferences, which have been held since its organization, and that without the Institute of International Law, its projects, resolutions and declarations, the succcessive conferences which had been held until the World War would not have been successful. The Declaration of the International Rights of Man consists of six articles, as short and much better than any summary could be, and requiring neither explanation nor commentary. They are, therefore, reproduced in full. If the First Conference for the Codification of International Law, meeting at The Hague in 1930, had adopted these articles in the form of a treaty, that treaty, composed exclusively of the Declaration of the International Rights of Man, would have made the fortune of that Conference, instead of being, as it was, an ignominious failure.

> ARTICLE I. It is the duty of every State to recognize the equal right of every individual to life, liberty and property, and to accord to all within its territory the full and entire protection of this right, without distinction as to nationality, sex, race, language, or religion.
>
> ARTICLE II. It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every individual to the free practice, both public and private, of every faith, religion, or belief, provided that the said practice shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.
>
> ARTICLE III. It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every individual both to the free use of the language of his choice and to the teaching of such language.
>
> ARTICLE IV. No motive based, directly or indirectly, on distinctions of sex, race, language, or religion empowers States to refuse to any of their nations private and public rights, especially admission to establishments of public instructions, and the exercise of the different economic activities and of professions and industries.
>
> ARTICLE V. The equality herein contemplated is not to be nominal, but effective. It excludes all discrimination, direct or indirect.
>
> ARTICLE VI. Except for motives based upon its general legislation, no State shall have the right to withdraw its nationality from those whom, for reasons of sex, race, language, or religion, it should not deprive of the guarantees contemplated in the preceding articles.

THE Conference at The Hague, however, adopted a Convention of its own on nationality, so unsatisfactory that the Conference accompanied it with a recommendation that the States study the question whether it would not be possible

> "1. To introduce into their law the principle of the equality of the sexes in matters of nationality, taking particularly into consideration the interests of the children"; and
>
> "2. And especially to decide that in principle the nationality of the wife shall henceforth not be affected without her consent either by the mere fact of marriage or by any change in the nationality of her husband."

The recommendation would seem to be an admission on the part of the Conference that the Convention on Nationality was imperfect, and that it could only be perfected by national legislation in the matter of nationality. As a matter of fact, although forty States voted for the Convention and one against it, only four States have ratified it to date, and, as the Convention required the ratification of at least ten States to put its provisions into effect, the Convention is, as it were, another wreck on the sands of time. The Government of the United States alone voted against the Convention, and refused to sign it, because it did not consecrate its time-honored contention in behalf of the right of persons to expatriate themselves, and because it was unequal in its provisions relating to women, to which policy the Government of the United States then and there committed itself, and in so doing assumed the moral leadership of the world.

THE Institute of International Law met in Oslo in the month of August of 1932, and on the 22nd day of August adopted the following resolutions:

> "I. That the nationality of one of the spouses, and more particularly a change of nationality on the part of such spouse during marriage, cannot be extended to the other spouse against the latter's will.
>
> "II. That, in the cases where the spouses possess different nationalities, either spouse shall be able to acquire, with the greatest facility and promptness possible, the nationality of the other."

Here we have two pronouncements on behalf of the Institute of International Law going to the very root of equality, and committing that great international body to equality of the sexes in all their relationships, private and public.

The American Institute of International Law has likewise two pronouncements going to the root of the matter; they were adopted in the form of resolutions at the meeting of the Governing Board of this Institute, composed of not more than five members from each of the twenty-one American Republics. The Governing Board, which represents the Institute in the intervals between plenary sessions, adopted at Habana on October 31, 1929, the following two resolutions; the first, on nationality, was drafted by Miss Stevens, providing

> "The Contracting Parties agree that from the going into effect of this treaty, there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality."

and the second resolution on Equal Rights of men and women was drafted by Miss Paul, providing

> "The Contracting Parties agree that upon the ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

THE resolutions were reconsidered and affirmed at the meeting of the Governing Board held two years later to a day in Washington. These are the two resolutions which Miss Stevens, in behalf of the Inter American Commission of Women, laid before the Seventh Conference of American States at Montevideo, with the earnest request that they be adopted by that body in the form of treaties.

The Inter American Commission of Women, created by the Habana Conference, was organized in due time, and was appropriately installed in the Pan American Union, as it was and is an agency of the Pan American Conferences. Unlike the American Republics, which were requested but did not prepare a report on the status of women under the Constitutions and laws, the Inter American Commission of Women prepared a report presented to the Seventh Conference at Montevideo, accompanied by the provisions in separate publications, of the Constitutions and laws embodying the political and civil rights of women of every one of the twenty-one American Republics, a work of inestimable value, of long and patient labor, citing the text of the law in question under headings of "Equal" and "Unequal." The report and the Constitutions are a tribute to the wisdom of the Sixth Conference in selecting women to do what men had failed to accomplish, and the provisions of the laws and Constitutions of the twenty-one American Republics in the matter of civil and political rights of women are a monument to the Inter American Commission of Women, and especially to its chairman, Doris Stevens, who directed the Commission in all its activities, and is justly responsible for its success, as she would have been responsible for its failure, if it had failed.

Alice Paul, Chairman of the Nationality Committee of the Inter American Commission of Women, prepared an elaborate—indeed, detailed—report in quarto on the nationality laws and practice of all of the American republics, the accuracy of which is certified by the appropriate officials of the Governments of each of the twenty Latin American Republics. The

report was presented by the Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women in support of the draft of treaty providing for the abolition of all distinctions based on sex in the law and practice of the American Republics. The section on the nationality laws of the United States is not certified by any official of the Federal Government, as Miss Paul herself is, admittedly, the most competent authority on the subject.

(*Concluded in next issue*)

A Decade of Progress (1923-1933)

By Anna Kelton Wiley,
Former National Chairman and Now Vice-Chairman of the National Woman's Party.

DECEMBER 26, 1933, will ever be an eventful day in the annals of Woman's progress toward realization of her ultimate goal — selfhood — meaning the development of an individual soul in its journey from birth to death, based upon responsibilities carried, decisions made and results achieved. What transpired on December 26 is the first complete victory of a disputed point in woman's favor covering a territory greater than one country.

On December 26, 1933, a multilateral treaty was signed at Montevideo, Uruguay, at the close of the Seventh Pan American Congress, guaranteeing equal nationality rights for men and women in the 21 Republics of America. This is the greatest single forward step for women in all history, the first international convention ever signed on the subject of Equal Rights for women. The text of this treaty, which was laid before the Montevideo Conference by the Inter American Commission of Women, was as follows:

> The contracting States agree that from the going into effect of this Convention there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality.

AS in all the victories won for the women of America, led by the National Woman's Party, this signal achievement rose Phoenix-like from the ashes of despair, thus proving anew the immortality of hope. On December 16, sixteen countries voted in the plenary session of the Third Commission of the Montevideo Conference for the nationality treaty, and this report was approved later, on the same day, by the full session of the Conference. According to the New York *Times* of the following day:

> The only opposition to this program was voiced by the United States delegation. Alexander W. Weddell, Ambassador to Argentina, read an address in Spanish, saying the United States regarded the work of the women's commission as completed and would dissociate itself therefrom in the future. The United States, he explained, is now codifying nationality laws and removing the last vestiges of discrimination.
>
> Civil and political rights, Mr. Weddell pointed out, were within the province of State legislation and the Federal Government could not bind the States by subscribing to a treaty.
>
> As a friendly gesture the United States delegation abstained from voting in the committee where the report adopted by today's plenary session was approved, except in favor of a vote of thanks to the commission for its efforts and its report. The only other vote against any other part of the program was cast by Argentina against continuing the commission.

BY December 19 there were still only 16 countries which had announced that they would support the Nationality Treaty when it came up for signature. The United States, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras were still in doubt, and Costa Rica was absent from the Conference.

Messages of congratulation on the victory for women at Montevideo and of humiliation and protest against the position taken by the Government of the United States in regard to the Equal Nationality Treaty were received at Headquarters of the National Woman's Party in an unprecedented demonstration of the strong feeling of American women for Equal Rights in regard to their nationality. Typical messages are the following:

Amelia Earhart cabled Secretary Hull:

> Please help women gain equality in nationality by signing the Montevideo pact. Treaty is simple justice and the easiest means to an end so earnestly desired by advocates of social progress everywhere.

Mary Ritter Beard wired Woman's Party headquarters in Washington:

> Cannot understand American opposition to Equal Nationality Treaty. Add my voice for it.

On December 20, a deputation, led by our beloved Florence Bayard Hilles, called upon Acting Secretary of State Phillips to call to his attention the deep feeling of humiliation felt by American women over the stand taken by the United States at Montevideo and to urge that the United States Delegation be instructed to modify its position and sign the treaty.

We gathered in the hall at the State Department and proceeded to the audience room overlooking the Mall. Going down the hall we passed a full-length portrait of Thomas F. Bayard, father of Mrs. Hilles, who was Secretary of State from 1885 to 1889, a strikingly handsome man, over six feet in height and of a powerful physique. John W. Foster said of him: "No man of higher ideals or of more exalted patriotism ever occupied the chair of Secretary of State."

We entered the stately room reminiscent of great events in history, and awaited the arrival of Acting Secretary of State Phillips. He entered. Mrs. Hilles stepped forward. "Mr. Secretary," she said, "I am keenly familiar with this room where often as a child I came with my father. Little did I dream then, that some day I should be petitioning a Secretary of State on behalf of the rights of women. But, Mr. Secretary, a strange thing has happened. I do not now need to present a petition. Within the last ten mintues this cablegram has been received. May I ask you to read it aloud to my colleagues?" Mr. Phillips' face changed from grave to gay, and smilingly he read aloud.:

> The United States will sign, also Honduras and Nicaragua, making it unanimous. Doris Stevens.

THEN adding his congratulations, Mr. Phillips said, "It was fortunate that Miss Stevens' cablegram came just at the psychological moment; otherwise I should have been constrained to silence." This was taken to mean that the decision to sign had been reached on the 19th, but that it had been decided that the break in the news was to come from Montevideo. It was a tense moment. History was in the making. We had come to plead. We left to rejoice.

Then as is our wont a photograph was taken. All major events in the life of the National Woman's Party are punctuated by photographs. We stood on the south steps of the State Department and lifting my eyes I beheld *Victory*. Not the Winged Victory of Samothrace, that matchless figure, the whirr of whose marble wings you can hear as you gaze, but a young bronze Victory, atop the 70-foot pink shaft of the Third Division of the A. E. F. The Winged Victory of Samothrace, surging forward with irresistible power, might symbolize mass movement, as in the winning of the vote, when practical unanimity among women won that simple evidence of citizenship. This nimble figure in the Mall, jauntily balanced on the pinnacle of a slender shaft, holding aloft a standard, is symbolic of a victory of pure thought, of the brain of a woman pitted against the world.

As I gazed fascinated by this symbol I thought back over the years and remembered Dr. Maximo Soto Hall, of Gua-

temala, who, as a delegate to the Fifth Pan American Congress at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, made a motion that, at the Sixth Pan American Congress, the juridical rights of women be made the subject of study. I thought of the Sixth Pan American Congress which met at Havana but with nothing relating to women upon its agenda; of the courageous band of four from the Woman's Party, Doris Stevens, Jane Norman Smith, Mrs. Valentine Winters, and Muna Lee, who went to Havana; of the brilliant success of that mission in the creation of the Inter American Commission of Women, with one woman member from each of the twenty-one American Republics.

Then my thoughts traveled to the first meeting of the Inter American Commission of Women at the University of Havana, in February, 1930. There the Nationality Treaty, drafted by Alice Paul and now endorsed by the Western World, was presented and approved by the Commission. Then my thoughts traveled to The Hague in April, 1930, where the treaty was presented by Senor Miguel Cruchaga, of Chile, to an international gathering of forty-seven nations assembled to draft the first provisions of a World Code of Law. The Conference lasted three weeks. The women, led by Doris Stevens, were given only a few hours in which to make their demands known. You know the result. When the roll was called on April 12, the United States refused to sign the Nationality Convention as drawn up because of four discriminatory clauses against women. As I thought of that high moment, methought the nimble Bronze Victory opposite waved her banner.

My thoughts then carried me to Geneva where Alice Paul and her colleagues secured the creation by the League of Nations of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality, which Committee has worked unceasingly for three years to prevent ratification of the unequal Hague Nationality Convention, and to secure support for an Equal Nationality Treaty. The events of these three years at Geneva encompass also the adoption of Dr. Orestes Ferrara's resolution by the League Assembly in September, 1930, providing for the re-opening of the question of the discriminatory Hague Convention; the appeal to the Council of the League in January, 1931, when the three Latin-American members of the Council, representing Guatemala, Peru and Venezuela—to their everlasting honor—were responsible for the creation of the Women's Consultative Committee to advise the League on the nationality of women; the placing of the nationality of women on the agenda for the League Assemblies of 1931, 1932 and 1933; the debates and discussions on the Equal Nationality Treaty in these three Assemblies; the winning of all of the leading international feminist organizations, the winning of leading international jurists, and, above all, the winning of the delegates from the Latin-American countries, to give their support to the Equal Nationality Treaty which has just been adopted at Montevideo.

I thought of the many meetings and patient consultations at London, at Paris, at Geneva, which resulted in gaining the support of one great international organization of women after another for the Nationality Treaty. I thought of the first meeting of the Women's Consultative Committee in the League of Nations building at Geneva, at which all of the eight international women's societies represented voted to endorse the Equal Nationality Treaty in the very words in which it has come into being at Montevideo.

I thought too of the Liason Committee of the Institute of International Law, created in Cambridge, England, in August, 1931, to work with the Women's Consultative Committee of the League on the subject of the nationality of women and of the splendid resolution for equality in nationality adopted by the Institute of International Law at its meeting in Oslo in 1932.

MY thoughts went back also to the meeting of the League Assembly which voted to send the report of the Women's Consultative Committee (adverse to The Hague Nationality Convention and endorsing the same Nationality Treaty that has just been adopted at Montevideo) to each and every separate government. Then my mental eye saw visions of the League of Nations Assembly in 1932, at which the woman delegate from Chile and the woman delegate from Columbia presented the same Equal Nationality Treaty to the Assembly and secured for it a long and respectful discussion and, still more important, because of its effect upon the result at Montevideo, secured public support for the Nationality Treaty from practically all of the Latin-American countries in the Assembly. And then my thoughts went to the last Assembly of the League—held this last September just prior to the Montevideo Conference—when again the delegation from Chile made a valiant fight for an equal nationality treaty, and when again the treaty had the support of those steadfast and loyal delegations from Latin-America, who were later to bring the Treaty into being at Montevideo.

NEXT I remembered the many, many women working at the Pan American Union and at the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, from 1930 to 1933, always with the wise counsel and sympathy of our international sage, Dr. James Brown Scott, working to perfect the juridical report on the status of women ordered to be presented to the Seventh Pan American Congress in Montevideo. This group contained Emma Wold, international lawyer, and Technical Adviser of the United States at The Hague, and author of the report on the "Effect of Marriage Upon Nationality" for the Seventieth Congress; Burnita Shelton Matthews, our Chairman of Legal Research; Laura Berrien, lawyer and tax expert; Anne Carter, formerly a Spanish instructor at Wellesley; Helena Hill Weed, writer and research expert, and her sister, Clara M. Hill, for years director of a girls' school in Mexico; and many, many others. All led by Doris Stevens, Chairman, assisted by Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, Executive Secretary.

"Shades of the Amazons," sighed the Bronze Victory, "did it take all this activity to produce a treaty of twenty-nine words and have it adopted by twenty-one countries?" "Yes, it did," I telepathed back, "I have not told you one-half of the incidents, the close shaves, the marvelous last moment developments, the devoted self-sacrificing labor, or the names of all those entitled to go down on the roll of honor. I have not mentioned the wise guidance and the generous help from our beloved President, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, which made much of this activity possible. And also please take note, through all the events I have flashed to you it has been the South American diplomats who have taken the lead."

"Look pleasant please," shouted the photographer. I came back to the present. "Pleasant," said I, "why we are already mere sublimated smiles. The Cat in the Wonderland Country never felt half as happy as we."

SUSAN BROWNELL ANTHONY

Champion of Womanhood

"She changed the mind of a Nation,"
A friend of hers did say in praise—
Of this Soul of Quaker birth, who stays
Henceforth as a Champion of all Creation.

She lived not, it is true, triumph to see;
But piercing the future with keen vision saw
Woman achieving her independence through law,
And sharing thus with Man true liberty.

Magistrates and Congresses did flout
Her wise, sagacious program of reform;
But her successors—bold women, took by storm
All heights of opposition, silencing grim doubt.

So henceforth, in all Lands and Ages—She Stands as a Prophet—Chivalrous and Free.

Dedicated to Alice Paul, who led the final fight for the Nineteenth Amendment.

By WILLIAM KIMBERLEY PALMER,
Chicopee, Massachusetts.

News from the Field

Ida Kloze in Important Post

A POLITICAL victory for Maryland women was registered Deccember 19 with the announcement that Ida I. Kloze, Baltimore attorney and president of the Business and Professional Women's Council of the Maryland Branch of the National Woman's Party, had been named a deputy by J. Enos Ray, United States Collector of Internal Revenue.

Miss Kloze is the first woman ever to hold such a post in Maryland.

Having practiced law in Baltimore for seven years, Miss Kloze was urged for the post by members of 15 Democratic women's clubs.

Madame von Matsch Describes Work at Geneva

MADAME LILLIAN VON MATSCH who is the Acting Chairman of the Women's Consultative Committee of the League of Nations, was the speaker at a meeting of the Woman's City Club of Baltimore on Friday, January 5, on "Recent International Feminist Victories."

The intensity of the world-wide struggle for Equal Rights, according to this speaker, is matched only by the terrible need existing in every country of the world to have women freed from the slavery of unjust laws. Her hearers were deeply touched at Madame von Matsch's recital of the pitiful plight of women in many European countries who are "starving by millions." "And the mental martyrdom," she added, her voice and eyes full of compassion for those whose struggles she had so recently witnessed, "can sometimes be as terrible as the physical martyrdom."

In her own immediate work and that of her co-workers from many countries in Geneva, Madame von Matsch said, money is needed, but women even more. In an interesting way, she showed the parallelism of the struggle for equal nationality started at two distinct and widely separated places — Montevideo and Geneva. The success of each depends on propaganda, she said, whose effectiveness is in direct ratio to the number of those engaged in spreading it. At Geneva, the propaganda is being directed *against* the adoption of an unfair nationality convention put forth at The Hague in 1930; at Montevideo, it was directed *toward* securing the adoption of an Equal Rights Nationality Treaty; and now, as the result of the signing of this treaty, further propaganda is needed — at least in the case of the United States—to secure its ratification.

In order to change The Hague Nationality Convention into international law, Madame von Matsch said, it is necessary that ten States ratify it by 1936. This is the specific thing which the Women's Consultative Committee, of which she is the Acting Chairman, is engaged in preventing. In speaking of this work, Madame von Matsch paid a glowing tribute to the National Woman's Party and the Inter American Commission of Women. "To us in Europe," she said, "these two organizations are the beacon lights of the women of the world." Other organizations of women who have made their influence felt with telling force at Geneva, she said, were the All Asian Conference of Women and the Equal Rights Internationale, both of which, with their subsidiaries, have played a big part in directing results at the peace capital of the world.

She deplored the fact that Hitler has abolished women's organizations in Germany and that outstanding women, among them women surgeons of her own acquaintance with big practices, were victims of the "Kinder, Kueche, Kirche" trend.

In conclusion, the speaker lauded the brilliant statesmanship of Alice Paul, in whose brain were shaped the events which later were dramatized at The Hague and Geneva: "She is the only woman I knew —the only leader who knows how to get results in these international things." The same unstinting praise was bestowed on Miss Paul's "Report on the Nationality of Women," Madame von Matsch declaring that between its covers was the "whole romance" of the struggle of woman toward self realization, and urging that it be read by everyone who is interested in humanity and the welfare of women and children.

The Plebiscite in Santo Domingo

ORGANIZED demand for equal suffrage in the Dominican Republic is of very recent origin, and is largely due to the efforts of a small but uncompromising group of Dominican women. The club *Nosotras*—"We Ourselves"—in the city of Santo Domingo, capital of the Republic, determined some five or six years ago to wake the consciousness of women throughout the country to the civic necessity of equal suffrage; and the organization of the *Acción Feminista Dominicana* was the dynamic result.

The *Acción Feminista Dominicana* undertook—in the words of one of its leaders—"a task of intensive education." Branches were established in the principal towns, and a small membership fee collected which has enabled the organization during the past year to open headquarters in the capital city and edit a Feminist magazine.

Several months since, President Trujillo of Santo Domingo announced his intention of issuing a decree which should authorize Dominican women "to participate in the coming elections in experimental form." The President further explained that what this rather vaguely worded announcement meant was that a referendum would be offered to Dominican women so that they might declare themselves as approving or disapproving votes for women.

In fulfillment of his promise, President Trujillo has just issued the decree. Women are to vote as to whether or not they themselves desire equal suffrage. If the majority of the ballots cast is in favor of woman suffrage, the inclusion of equal suffrage in the Constitution will be considered by the Dominican Congress in its forthcoming session. If the majority of ballots is against equal suffrage, consideration of the matter by Congress will be postponed to some future date. Obviously the plan, far from being perfect, is open to various abuses; but Dominican Feminists seem confident of the result of the plebiscite. There is no question as to the sincerity and enthusiasm of the advocates of suffrage in the Dominican Republic, and women in other Hispanic countries await with intense interest the results of this preliminary gesture of collaboration with the Feminists on the part of the Dominican Government.

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